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West Virginia University Studies

IN

AMERICAN HISTORY

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO

American Expansion Policy

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BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

West Virginia University

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

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## West Virginia University Studies

IN  
AMERICAN HISTORY

# An Introduction to American Expansion Policy

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### I. Westward Movement.

There is no more significant, magnificent and spectacular movement in modern history than that of the motley, heroic, sublime migrating procession which, receiving its start from European conditions and breaking barrier after barrier, decade after decade has swept across the American continent within the last century—from tide waters and bays to summits, then to central rivers swollen by far-gathered floods, then to the far-away Columbia and in fevered rush across wide prairies and the Rockies, or over isthmuses, or around distant cape, to the Golden Gate—and finally across the fretful Pacific, the theatre of great future historical events, to the portals of the Orient, and the farthest isles of the broadest ocean.

The feverish, restless westward movement from the tide waters of the Atlantic coast, slow at first, but gradually gaining momentum and force, adding territory after territory to the American union, and extending her commerce and beneficent influence to distant lands and peoples, is the great central fact of American history. Expansion, non-parasitic,<sup>1</sup> vigorous and attractive, developing by affinity, contending against both restriction and secession, has been America's greatest feat. A peculiar characteristic of federalism is its power to extend over large areas, as a pure democracy could not do.

Back of this movement was a long period of preparation. In the mutations of ancient nations, many "earthly transient pageants" departed, leaving their impress on the civilization of the

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<sup>1</sup> See U. S. Review, Feb., 1853, p. 173, *et seq.*

world. Then the barbarous Teutons advanced to conquer empires, and new nations arose in western Europe. Finally, after long years of strife and war—in which democracy had begun to gain ground—ships, no longer creeping along the shore like Jason of old, sailed across an unknown ocean in search of a new trade route, and accidentally discovered a new world which gave a new impulse to the old one. Then followed a race of discovery and colonization.

Though Columbus discovered America in 1492, there was no permanent English settlement within the present limits of the United States until the seventeenth century. Before Gilbert and Raleigh, the English sought India and the Spanish treasure-ships, which were ransacking the bowels of Mexico and carrying gold from the Spanish main. The first explorers, in their storm-tossed ships, did not aim at permanent settlement. Gilbert sailed to make a colony on the mainland, near Newfoundland, which was to serve as a supply station for a contemplated route to the Pacific by way of the St. Lawrence, the lakes, and the rivers flowing through the continent. John Smith sailed up the Chickahominy in search of a route to China and the South Sea to which all the land grants extended, and Spain feared that the Jamestown colony was intended only as a base against the Spanish.<sup>2</sup> Exploration merged into settlement and freedom took up its abode on American shores. Colonization arose as a safety valve for conditions in England and as a means of liberty for colonists. The motives behind it were both economic and political. Emigrants from England and Europe, to avoid grievances and misfortunes at home, sought a remedy in America. Before the close of the seventeenth century, English writers, speaking of the increasing colonists on the Atlantic coast, saw that they would inevitably advance farther west to "seek for new possessions," refuse to acknowledge subjection to Europe, and "set up for themselves" a great empire which would "give law to the rest of the world." These prophecies increased during the next century, and in the time of Adam Smith it was suggested that the seat of the British Empire should be removed to North America.

At first there were only a few feeble, slowly-advancing English settlements trembling between the sea and the unexplored savage forest which the self-reliant pioneers were to master and arouse from the sleep of ages by a long and arduous contest; but "to have

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<sup>2</sup> Problems relating to the Pacific and the former Spanish territory have persisted in forming a large part of American history.



more land" ran in the Anglo-Saxon blood, and the institutions of self-government were destined to advance toward the lakes, the Mississippi and the Pacific.

As early as 1716, Governor Spottswood of Virginia led a company of cavaliers through the passes of the Blue Ridge to the valley of the Shenandoah, and to Pendleton county, West Virginia, and planned to occupy the country beyond from the mountains to the lakes, but he was soon removed from office and his imperial plans remained unexecuted until the days of Governor Dinwiddie. From 1748 to 1754, when England stimulated settlement on the branches of the Ohio, adventurous spirits were already passing to the ridges of the Allegheny mountains from which they could look into the valleys and plains where the races of the world were to settle and weld themselves into a national democracy.<sup>3</sup> By 1750, the smoke was curling up from their cabin homes beyond the mountain barrier, and the incessant wave of frontiersmen, felling the mighty monarchs of the forest and clearing the way for civilization, pressed on from the sea and the mountain to the great central valley which France was striving to hold from occupation.

The mission of the age was to subdue the wilderness and carry the Anglo-Saxon frontier farther and farther westward. English expansion had absorbed New Amsterdam and completed a chain of colonies on the Atlantic with a border sweeping westward to destroy the French dreams of a mid-continent empire and to secure the keys of the West. In 1754 at Great Meadows on the Monongahela, Washington fired the shot which was "heard around the world," and began a war which decided the destiny of America. The Forbes expedition of 1758 gave the Ohio valley to the English. The empire which France had attempted to build by her missionaries and trading posts, received its death-blow at

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<sup>3</sup> In 1726 Mr. Harris built a cabin on the Susquehanna, and soon his son established a ferry, at the point where Harrisburg now stands. In 1727, Mecklenburg (Shepherdstown, W. Virginia) was settled. By 1750 nearly all the good valleys had been occupied to the main ridge of the Alleghenies which marks the headwaters of the rivers flowing eastward. In 1748 the Ohio Company was formed. The attempt of France to lay claim to the Ohio river region by the Celeron expedition of 1749 was doomed to defeat by the activity of the Anglo-Americans. In 1750, Christopher Gist, surveyor and agent of the Ohio Company, made a circular trip up the Juniata branch of the Susquehanna, down the Ohio almost to the falls, and up the Kentucky and across the mountains to his home on the Yadkin. In 1752, after accompanying Col. Joshua Fry to Logtown on a mission to conciliate the Indians, he built a cabin (still standing) near the site of the present town of Connellsville, Pa. There Washington found him in 1753.

Quebec in 1759. England who stood by Frederick the Great in his annexation of Silesia, at the close of the Seven Years' War was able to drive France from the American continent and to secure territory from the lakes to the Arctic seas. At the south she also received Florida in return for Havana and the Philippines which she had taken in 1762.

The American colonists rejoiced at English expansion, but when the English government attempted (1763) to restrict their expansion beyond the Appalachians, and to enforce increased taxation, they asserted that their rights came not from the edicts of kings but from the laws of nature, and, as a sovereign people, they formed an American nation to try the experiment of the rule of the multitude based upon the principle of equality.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime, the westward movement did not cease. By 1767 Mason and Dixon's Line was surveyed to the Warrior branch of the Catawba war path near Mount Morris,<sup>5</sup> Pa., where the surveying party was stopped by the Indians.

In 1768, by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix the territory between the Tennessee and the Ohio, was relinquished by the Indians.

In 1769, settlements were made at Morgantown and at Wheeling in West Virginia. In the same year, Watauga, Tennessee was settled, and John McCullough (of Virginia), Daniel Boone<sup>6</sup> and others began to penetrate farther into the wilderness. In 1773

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<sup>4</sup> Turgot in 1770, had foreseen the separation of "all America from Europe," and, in 1784, he predicted the further expansion of the United States by husbandry. Dean Tucker, considering the vast unexplored regions beyond the back settlements, said it was visionary to talk of the United States under any form of government ever becoming anything other than a disunited people, but Major John Cartwright, in 1784, had foreseen that, by the laws of nature, the Americans "must \* \* \* cover in a few ages that immense continent like a swarm of bees."

<sup>5</sup> The line was not completed until 1782-84. The western line of Pennsylvania was surveyed in 1785-86. (Veech: *The Monongahela of Old*).

<sup>6</sup> Boone, the typical frontiersman of his day, was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in 1735, moved up the Shenandoah to the Yadkin by 1753, was with Braddock in 1755 (and married in the same year), and first visited eastern Kentucky in 1761. Becoming dissatisfied with social and economic conditions in North Carolina, he continued his trips to the "hunters' paradise" toward the west; and finally, in 1773, he sold his farm and started to Kentucky, but meeting hostile Indians near Cumberland Gap, he retreated to the Clinch. Here he left his family until 1775, but in June, 1774, with instructions from Lord Dunmore he conducted a party of surveyors into Kentucky, where he soon established a home and did valuable service as an Indian fighter. In 1795 he settled west of St. Louis, where he died in 1822. In 1845 his remains were removed to Frankfort, Kentucky.

Parkersburg was begun, and land where Louisville now stands was surveyed. In 1774 the way was prepared for further advance by the battle at Point Pleasant in which the Indians were defeated. In 1775 Boonsborough, Kentucky, was founded, in 1777 Louisville, and by 1779 Harrodsburg and Lexington, and also Nashville,<sup>7</sup> Tennessee. In 1778, George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia, and in 1779 Vincennes, by a small force of western men. In 1780, Clark built a block house where Cincinnati is now located. In 1784, the settlers of Tennessee held a convention, formed the new state of Franklin with John Sevier<sup>8</sup> as governor, and proceeded to conclude treaties with the Cherokee Indians. In 1788, both Marietta and Cincinnati were founded, and in 1790 Gallipolis.<sup>9</sup>

It was America's lot to lead in new paths. As the smoke of the hard-fought battles of the Revolution cleared away, the former colonies were loosely united, with many causes of disunion which were soon harmonized by a new constitution. Then followed the development of the giant West. The strong American combination of Norse, Celt, Norman and Saxon, with wings strengthened by migration and rigorous environment, moved forward to wrestle and experiment with the opportunities of the wilderness, to domesticate nature and develop ideas of liberty and self-govern-

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<sup>7</sup> The story of the settlement of Nashville well illustrates the ancestral fibre of the west. In 1779, James Robertson of the Watauga settlements on the western border of North Carolina, gathered 380 people to settle farther west. Of the 130 women and children who went by boat and canoe down the unknown and dangerous waters of the Holstein and the Tennessee, only 97 reached the present site of Nashville at the end of the journey of three months. (One of the survivors was Rachel Donelson, later the wife of Andrew Jackson). Of the 250 men who followed 500 miles of "trace," only 226 survived at the end of the trip. In November, 1780, less than a year after the party was organized, only 134 persons survived (and there had been but one natural death). In the spring of 1781, only 70 were alive, but not one of these heroes voted to return. In 1791 only 15 were alive, but there was not one inch of retreat from distance gained. The story of their struggles is more interesting than the tales of the Trojan war.

<sup>8</sup> Am. Hist. Review, Vol. I, Oct., 1895, pp. 70-87 (F. J. Turner: Western State Making).

<sup>9</sup> Sparks: Expansion of the American people, Chap. 11 (The Peopling of the Northwest Territory). Settlements along the southern shores of the lakes (where there were no roads) were not made until near the end of the century. In 1796, Gen. Moses Cleveland, agent of the "Connecticut Land Company," landed at the mouth of the Conneaut river with fifty settlers and began the present city of Cleveland. A year later a road was cleared between Cleveland and the Pennsylvania line; and by 1800 there were at least twenty-five settlements in the Western Reserve, with a total population of 1,300. In 1802, Ohio territory applied for statehood.

ment. The active sought to employ energy, the men in debt were anxious to escape the tax collector and the creditor, the wild and reckless desired a wider field for exploit, and even the idle soon found a new life which awakened their sleeping powers into action. It was the era of the rifle, the axe, the covered wagon, the ox-cart and the log-cabin. People were not excluded from the soil as in Europe where ownership was by the few. All the territory of the Union was the common property, and no citizen could be prevented from moving thither with his family. The farmer and the carpenter followed the hunter and explorer. Daring men and heroic women fitted to participate in many real though humble tragedies, with quickened pulse pushed up the Shenandoah and through Cumberland Gap<sup>10</sup> or over more northern divides, and following the Indian trails and the rivers,<sup>11</sup> or cutting new paths<sup>12</sup> started young self-governing communities in the fertile valleys drained toward the West and the South. In patches of cleared land, strewn with arrow-heads, they planted the seed for future harvests; they transformed the primeval forests into waving fields of grain and opened the way for new states and further expansion of a great and enduring republic.

Settlements continued to increase rapidly,<sup>13</sup> notwithstanding the general idea in the East that they would be slow and dangerous to republican institutions, and soon the question of Western commerce became an important one.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Cumberland Gap and the Wilderness Road (which Boone laid out as far as the blue grass region of Kentucky in 1769) had a great influence in the settlement of the Mississippi valley. (Hulbert: Historic Highways, vol. 6).

<sup>11</sup> Sparks: Expansion of the American People, chap. 12. ("Journeying to the Ohio Country").

<sup>12</sup> In 1796, by authority of Congress, Zane's "trace" was cut from Wheeling in a southwesterly direction to the Ohio at Limestone (now Maysville, Kentucky) crossing rivers at points where Zanesville, Lancaster and Chilli-cothe now stand. In 1806 Congress, with a desire to lessen the hardships of travel between East and West, ordered the survey of a highway to the Ohio which later resulted in the Cumberland national road.

<sup>13</sup> The rush for land was much stimulated by Cupid. Love and enterprise walked hand in hand and promoted marriage. To some, the journey was a wedding tour, while to others it furnished the occasion for love affairs and courtships which terminated in marriage before the journey was ended.

<sup>14</sup> The building of flat-boats and barges at Pittsburg and along the Ohio was growing into an important industry. In 1800, the sailing vessel "*St. Clair*," rigged for ocean navigation, was launched at Marietta, Ohio, and (under command of Commodore Whipple), after carrying a load of pork and flour to New Orleans, made the trip to Havana, from whence she carried a load of sugar to Philadelphia.

The growth of the West with its thinly settled region, immature society, less experience, little wealth, and ultra-democratic ideas swept from power the Federalists who had opposed the annexation of territory for new states, and prepared the way for the further democratization of American institutions.

With the purchase of Louisiana which destined the United States for a continental power, new problems arose and the pioneers, now crossing the Mississippi, turned to fresh conquests of nature's virgin soil. Fulton zealously experimented with his ingenious steamboat,<sup>15</sup> which was invented with a view to the navigation of the Mississippi from its mouth upward, and the Missouri, the Ohio and other tributaries. Jefferson sent expeditions to explore the great tributaries of the Mississippi to their head waters in the Rockies and to open communication with the Pacific. In 1804-06 Lewis and Clark discovered a route across the continent;<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In 1807, in defiance to a jeering, scoffing crowd, Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, laboriously snorting and puffing, burning cords of pine wood and belching fire and smoke from its throat, lashing the water with its side wheel and shaking the river with its roar, put out from New York toward Albany at the rate of four miles per hour. The incredulity of the crowd which had been shouting its ridicule was succeeded by silent astonishment and then by cheers of undisguised delight. Farther up the river the simple river men, crews of the sailing vessels, terrified at the approach of the strange smoking and noisy monster, fell on their knees praying or fled shrieking, leaving their deserted vessels to drift helplessly down the stream. After continued trips of the *Clermont*, their fear gave way to hatred. They were apprehensive that the new craft would entirely destroy their business. They denounced the new invention, and captains of sailing vessels frequently attempted to sink it by running into it. The hostility of the boatmen became so great that after the *Clermont* was damaged by several collisions the New York legislature passed a law declaring combinations to destroy her or willful attempts to injure her public offenses punishable by fine and imprisonment.

<sup>16</sup> The expedition of Lewis and Clark, one of the world's greatest explorations, completed the work of nearly three centuries during which transcontinental exploration had been largely stimulated by fruitless search for a mythical waterway, and the discovery of America had been accomplished by many enterprises in all parts of the globe from the capes on the south to the snows of Siberia and Behring Sea on the north. It completed the work of the successors of Balboa, Cortez, Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and other Spaniards; of Nicolet, La Salle, Joliet, Marquette and Verendrye, of the Hudson Bay Company, Carver, Hearne, Mackenzie and Ledyard. As early as 1783 Jefferson had written George Rogers Clark suggesting an expedition to explore the region between the Mississippi and the Pacific; in 1786, he induced John Ledyard to try to cross Siberia in order to approach the Missourri region from the west; in 1793, he instructed Andre Michaux to ascend the Missouri and explore to the Pacific by the shortest route, but Michaux's expedition ended in Kentucky when he became the active agent of Genet in trying to induce the Kentuckians led by George Rogers Clark to march under the banner of

and in 1806-07, (soon after the collapse of Burr's western enterprise), Captain Z. M. Pike, who had returned from an expedition of exploration to the upper waters of the Mississippi (as far as Cass and Leech lakes in Minnesota), was detailed by General James Wilkinson with instructions to direct an expedition which made exploration along the Arkansas almost to its head waters.<sup>17</sup>

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France to an attack on New Orleans. In 1802, President Jefferson saw a favorable opportunity to carry his previous plans into effect, and in January, 1803, urged Congress to appropriate the \$2,500 for the expedition for which he had already selected Lewis as the chief leader. In April, Lewis began active preparations; in May he received his detailed instructions; later he selected William Clark (a brother of George Rogers Clark) as his companion on the trip; on July 5, 1803, (a few days after the arrival of news announcing the purchase of Louisiana) he said farewell to Jefferson at Washington; and on August 31, after securing supplies, and after sending word ahead requesting the commanders of the West to call for volunteers for the expedition, he left Pittsburg for the descent of the Ohio. Early in December the expedition reached the Dubois river, opposite St. Louis, where it constructed a winter camp and spent five months in careful preparation for the long and arduous journey. On March 9, 1804, Lewis was one of the official witnesses at the transfer of upper Louisiana at St. Louis. On May 14, the expedition (33 persons) left the Dubois river and in October, 1804, after overcoming many difficulties and solving many problems, it reached the Mandan village near the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota, where it spent five months. On April 7, 1805, the expedition started again, and after a succession of curious adventures and severe trials (sometimes with only dogs and horses for food), crossed the divide from the Jefferson branch of the Missouri to the Lemhi tributary of the Columbia, thence over the bewildering ridges of the heavily timbered Bitterroot mountains, and along the Nez Perce trail to the Weippe plain, thence by the Clearwater and the Columbia to Pacific tide water, which was reached in November, 1805. After a long and tiresome winter full of hardships—largely taken up in preparation for the return—the expedition started up the Columbia on March 23, 1806, and after much labor and many interesting experiences reached the upper Clearwater (May 8), the Weippe prairie (June 10), then the mouth of Traveller's Rest Creek (July 1), where the party was divided into three divisions, all of which (after many dangers and exciting episodes) were reunited (August 12) below the mouth of the Yellowstone, down whose waters Clark made a successful but hazardous expedition. On September 23, the expedition reached St. Louis, where Lewis despatched a brief account of the expedition to Jefferson. On February 14, 1807, Lewis arrived at Washington, and soon thereafter was granted a tract of land and appointed governor of Louisiana. Clark was appointed general of the militia of the territory and Indian agent. In 1813 he was appointed governor of the upper Louisiana territory (Missouri territory), and in 1822 superintendent of Indian affairs (which he held until his death in 1838).

<sup>17</sup> Pike had instructions to accompany fifty-one Osage and Pawnee Indians to their homes and (after establishing a good understanding with other Indian tribes) to explore the Arkansas and Red rivers. On July 15, with a party of twenty-two men, he left the mouth of the Missouri. He ascended the Missouri in rowboats to the Osage, and from the principal Osage village

It was evident that while the American government was determined to hold and to cultivate the region south of the great lakes it was inquisitively anxious to obtain information concerning the new territory and the region beyond its boundaries.

After the war of 1812, by which America attained commercial and industrial independence, especial attention was directed to internal development, and movement to the west increased greatly. The policy of European congresses, the conditions of Europe after the imprisonment of Napoleon in 1815, and the disbanding of the great armies which had been fighting France since 1789, greatly influenced the development of America. While Metternich was chief cook, Liberalists could get no dinner. Debts, taxes, political proscription, and hungry stomachs induced a large emigration from Europe to the American land of promise. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said: "America is a fortunate country; she grows by the folly of our European nations." There were about 250,000 Old World arrivals from the Revolution to 1820, and the yearly number was increased from 10,000 in 1820 to 100,000 in 1842.

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proceeded over the Kansas plains by horses to the country of the Pawnees on the Republican river (in Nebraska), thence southwest over the "desert barrier" of Kansas to the Arkansas east of the mouth of Pawnee fork (near Great Bend, Kan.). Sending Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson to explore to the mouth, he advanced toward the source of the Arkansas until the river became a narrow torrent with a background of lofty white-capped mountains. Then after advancing northward from Pueblo (Nov. 24) in a fruitless attempt to ascend the peak which now bears his name (and which he had first seen from the Purgatory river on November 15) he followed the Arkansas to the present site of Canon City, ascended Oil Creek to South Park, and after many wanderings reached the waters of the South Platte and returned to the Arkansas, which he ascended to the vicinity of Leadville in spite of bitter cold and many other hardships and dangers. He thought he was on Red river until he descended to Canon City. The strange, weird story of his narrow escape, bewildering marches in all directions, and desperate struggle for life is full of human interest. Finally, on January 14, 1807, he started southward up Grape Creek and through Wet Mountain valley, and notwithstanding the severe cold and scarcity of food pushed on over the Sangre de Christo range into the San Luis valley, and reached the Rio Grande (January 30). Descending to the mouth of the Conezos (near the present southern boundary of Colorado) he built a stockade, and sent Dr. John H. Robinson to Santa Fe, ostensibly to collect a debt due a friend, but really to get military information. The Spaniards suspecting that Pike was connected with Burr's scheme to seize Mexican territory, sent a company of one hundred horsemen, which escorted Pike's party as prisoners to Santa Fe, from whence they were soon taken to Chihuahua to Governor Salcedo, who retained the larger part of the papers and sketches of the expedition, but allowed Pike and Robinson to return (under escort) through Coahuila and San Antonia (Texas) to the American settlement at Natchitoches, Louisiana, which was reached July 1, 1807. Eight other members of the party were returned later.

The dull times in the East after 1814, the acquisition of Florida, the removal of the Indians, better means of transportation, the cheapness of land in the West, the desire for broader opportunities, and the natural spirit of adventure caused a continual stream of emigration to the valleys of the Mississippi, where solitude and privation were founding a great West. Soon the work of a national road<sup>18</sup> was moving westward over ravines and hills toward the middle West where the throb of the nation's life was best felt, and within a few years the Ohio and Mississippi swarmed with steamboats<sup>19</sup> which furnished a fairly rapid and adequate means of transportation of the western commerce.

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<sup>18</sup> The national "Cumberland road" was completed to Wheeling by 1818, and was continued westward from that point until the new era of railway transportation induced Congress (1838) to make no further appropriations to continue it. Nemocolin's path, the Washington road and the Braddock road were links in the chain of evolution of the Cumberland road (Hulbert: *Historic Highways*, vol. 10).

<sup>19</sup> Steamboats have had a great influence in western history. In 1787, Manassah Cutler, in a pamphlet inviting settlement on land granted to the Ohio Company, said "in all probability, steamboats will be found to be of infinite service in our river navigation." In 1809, Robt. R. Livingston and Robert Fulton sent Nicholas J. Roosevelt to the West to investigate the Ohio and Mississippi navigation, and soon directed him to build a steamboat on the Monongahela. The "*New Orleans*" was constructed at a cost of \$38,000, and with Roosevelt and wife as its only passengers started down the Ohio September 28, 1811, and reached New Orleans early in 1812. Other steamers were built at Pittsburg by 1813 and 1814, and at Wheeling by 1816. The "*Ontario*" was built on Lake Ontario in 1816 and the "*Walk-in-the-Water*" on Lake Erie in 1818. (No steamboat reached Chicago until 1832). The sixth steamer on western rivers, the "*Z. M. Pike*," built in 1815, reached St. Louis in August, 1817, and was the first steamer north of Cairo on the Mississippi. The *Independence* was the first steamer to enter the Missouri (1819). In the same year the "*Western Engineer*," built especially for Major S. H. Long, reached the mouth of the Platte. In 1833, the *Assiniboine* ascended to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. In 1818, fourteen steamboats were built on western rivers; and in 1819, twenty-three. By 1820, seventy-one had been built on the Mississippi system, against four on the lakes and fifty-two on the Atlantic south of New England. (Even in 1820-30, only eight were built on the lakes). A special impetus was given to the steamboat trade in 1824 when the Fulton-Livingston Louisiana monopoly was broken down by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Gibbins vs. Ogden*, that the waters of the Mississippi are the heritage of the whole people and subject only to federal legislation. Steamboat navigation was also greatly increased by the construction of the canal around the falls at Louisville in 1831. The number of steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries rapidly increased. There were 230 in 1834; 450 in 1842; 600 in 1843; 1,200 in 1848; and 4,000 by 1850. By 1844, St. Louis rivaled Pittsburg in the manufacture of steamboat supplies.



The earlier economic development of the west was largely influenced by the steamboat, which gave access to a market, and by the spread of cotton culture in the southwest which created a market for surplus agricultural products.

America, with a national optimism, which expected to continue to get what it wanted, did not trouble itself about the future. It had successfully avoided the disasters which had been inaccurately "prophesied" from time to time; and, learning wisdom in the school of original experience, was able to meet problems as they arose and pressed for solution. The hardy pioneers from Europe and the East, full of self-confidence, independence, economic energy, and political interests, and left largely to their own devices, became an important factor in establishing a new and vigorous national life free from many of the traditions of colonial days. America boasted not of ancestors, but only of the posterity for which she alone was responsible. She preferred to look to future glory rather than to the past, even if it should be more uncertain. She was in her infancy,<sup>20</sup> but she was building for the future with heart dilating at future prospects. Her policy was tersely expressed in the dictum of Davy Crockett: "Be sure you are right, then go ahead." Michael Chevalier once said (1867) that the vigorous society established in America left behind on European soil the impedimenta of traditions, prejudices, and usages which "would have embarrassed its movements and retarded its progressive march."

The western Niagara-rush of sweeping energy was carrying America onward to her destiny. In 1816, a congressional committee on the development of the West reported: "The rapidity of its growth is such that even whilst we are employed in drawing the portrait, the features continue to enlarge and the picture

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After 1855, steamers played a large part in military operations along the Missouri and its tributaries. After 1859, when the railroad reached St. Joseph, Missouri, a contest began in which the railroads gradually supplanted steamers on the western rivers. Steamboating declined there especially after 1868-70, and now there are more steamers on the Yukon than there are on the Missouri. There was an extraordinary developemnt of steamer traffic above Fort Benton on the Missouri in 1866-67, due to the discovery of gold on a branch of the Jefferson fork in 1863 and near the present site of Helena in 1864. Of the various dramatic incidents of steamer days in the far northwest, one of the most stirring was the run of the "*Far West*," after the Custer massacre in 1876, down the narrow and unknown Big Horn, the dangerous Yellowstone, and the Missouri with the speed of a railway train (1,000 miles in 54 hours) carrying the wounded to Bismarck.

<sup>20</sup> English travelers complained that the people slept three in a bed and were deficient in good manners.

becomes distorted." Calhoun said (in 1817): "We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing." Soon Austin's semi-lawless and adventurous "briar-breakers" were forming a nucleus for the organization of the future commonwealth of Texas. Anglo-American colonies were settled by individual emigrants, and called into existence by the people rather than by the Government. A wilderness, impassable one year, was traversed the next by caravans of industrious emigrants. The rapid march westward was not an irruption of wild barbarians. Wherever the sons of the parent states wandered into new territories, they carried with them law and order and "kept a warm corner in their hearts" for the rocky shores and earlier settlements on the Atlantic coast. After 1825 the westward movement had reached the prairies, where less clearing was required, and became very rapid. Every breeze blew the ship of state forward and inflated the minds of youthful writers and speakers to indulge in overstrained sentiment and exaggerated nationality.<sup>21</sup>

In transportation, the river and canal period had supplanted the turnpike period. Eastern commercial cities were competing for the western trade.

On November 4, 1825, a significant pageant<sup>22</sup> ceremoniously entering New York harbor (after an eight day trip through the canal and down the Hudson). It announced the "wedding of the waters of the lakes with the Atlantic by the completion of the Erie canal,"<sup>23</sup> which soon became a great influence in the devel-

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<sup>21</sup> See Edward Everett's *Oration and Speeches*, Boston, 1850. (Read the preface.)

<sup>22</sup> Governor Clinton made a triumphal journey by barge from Buffalo to New York, starting from Buffalo, Oct. 26, and reaching New York harbor on Nov. 4. (Hulbert; *Historic highways*, vol. 14; Nile's *Register*, vol. 25; W. L. Stone: *Narrative of Festivities Observed in Honor of the Completion of the Grand Erie Canal*).

<sup>23</sup> Improvement of the Mohawk was suggested as early as 1768. A route for a canal around Niagara was surveyed in 1784. Public interest in canal connection with the lakes was awakened in 1792. The idea was suggested by Gouverneur Morris in 1777, 1795, 1801 and 1803, by Jesse Hawley in 1807, by Joshua Forman in 1808, and by Clinton in 1810. Clinton prepared the memorial to the New York legislature (in 1816) which resulted in the act of April 15, 1817, giving birth to the canal.

opment of New York and the West and a stimulus to development elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> In 1823 Governor Clinton of New York, as the guest of Ohio, turned the first earth on a canal to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio river. On July 4, of the same year, President Adams in shirt sleeves threw the first spadeful of earth from a canal projected to connect the Chesapeake with the Ohio and other interior waterways. On the same day similar ceremonies inaugurated the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, whose builders in a few years passed the diggers of the canal at Harpers Ferry. Other railroads were soon begun between towns already in existence, and by 1850 they had almost superseded the canals and were becoming an important agent in the settlement of the newer states where the engineer often became the pioneer.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The effect of the construction of the Erie canal is most interesting in connection with the relation of western communication to the development of competition between the great eastern commercial centers. An excellent small volume bearing on the subject is Albert Perry Brigham's "From trail to railway through the Appalachians." (Ginn & Co. 1907.)

<sup>25</sup> The amazing rapidity of railroad development in the United States is significant. The earliest railroads were mere accessories to established routes of water travel. They were short lines built to connect towns with navigable water, or to connect two seaports whose coast communication had been long or dangerous. Such were the earlier roads built around Boston (1830-35), the Baltimore and Ohio to Harpers Ferry (1828-34), Charleston and Hamburg (1833), the Boston and Albany (1842), the roads across New Jersey (1834 and 1838), the Baltimore and Ohio from Baltimore to Washington (1834), the line from Philadelphia to Baltimore (1837), the line from Richmond to Fredericksburg (1837), and the line from Richmond to Wilmington (1833-40). The first and second chains of railroads across the Appalachians were built in New York. The first line extended from Albany to Buffalo (1843) and was divided into short lines of sixteen different companies. (The Hudson River railroad was completed in 1851. In 1853 the different connecting lines between Albany and Buffalo were consolidated into the New York Central. By 1869 further consolidation had formed the New York Central and Hudson River railroad, which with its six-track system does a far greater business than any other line between east and west). The second line connected the lower Hudson with Dunkirk on Lake Erie (1851). The Baltimore and Ohio was completed to Cumberland in 1842 and to Wheeling in 1849-1853. The Pennsylvania conquered the mountains and completed connection from the Susquehanna to Pittsburg in 1854 (and by 1857 purchased the old Pennsylvania canal in order to eliminate competition). Lines from Charleston and Savannah were continued to Chattanooga and then to Nashville (1854). A line from Norfolk via Lynchburg (1854) and along the old Wilderness road to Bristol (1857) was completed to Knoxville and Chattanooga in 1858. The C. and O. was completed westward to the base of the main Allegheny range at Covington in 1857, but was not completed to Huntington on the Ohio until 1873.

By 1852, Ohio had three railroads across the state from north to south: (1) from Sandusky to Cincinnati [Sandusky and Dayton (1832-48) and Little

By 1830, the centre of population moved across the Appalachians, and the United States was no longer dominated by the Atlantic. De Tocqueville found the "United States peopling the western wilderness at the average rate of seventeen miles per annum," and said that she would cover with her off-shoots almost all North America from the polar ice to the tropics. In the decade from 1830 to 1840 the frontier moved westward to the 95th meridian at the margin of the great plains. Many frontiersmen, like Davy Crockett<sup>26</sup> after a series of moves toward the Mississippi, finally crossed its waters as the frontier advanced.

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Miami between Springfield and Cincinnati (1846)]; (2) from Columbus to Cleveland (1851); and (3) from Cleveland to Pittsburg (1852).

In 1852, the New York trans-Appalachian lines pushed westward along Lake Erie to Cleveland, and by January, 1853, reached Toledo. (There were no through trains for several years. The attempts, in 1853, to unite the roads meeting at Erie by changing the gauge of one of the roads led to a bitter, unparalleled local outbreak known as the "Erie war," which lasted for about three years and engendered animosities whose echoes have scarcely ceased yet.) A road from Toledo to Lake Michigan (the Michigan Southern) had been begun in 1843 and was completed to Chicago in 1852. (The Michigan Central, constructed westward from Detroit, reached Chicago at the same time). In 1854 a line was opened from Bellaire (opposite Wheeling) to Columbus, Ohio, and a branch from Newark to Sandusky. In the same year the Chicago and Rock Island was completed to the Mississippi; and between 1855 and 1856 Chicago became the center of roads connecting with the Mississippi at Galena, Alton, Burlington, Quincy and the mouth of the Ohio. The Milwaukee and La Crosse road was completed in 1858, and a road from Chattanooga to Memphis in the same year. The Chicago and Northwestern reached Council Bluffs in 1867. In 1859 the Louisville and Nashville was completed to Nashville, cutting off every southern city from Cincinnati, and causing the latter to build the road to Chattanooga (1874-80) which she leased to the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway (1881).

West of the Mississippi, the line from Hannibal to St. Joseph was built in 1859, and the line from Galena to Council Bluffs in 1866. In 1869, (the year in which the Suez canal was opened), at Promontory Point (Utah) the Union Pacific (begun at Omaha, 1863) advancing from the East met the Central Pacific (begun at Sacramento, 1863) coming from the West, completing the first transcontinental railway. (Spearman: *The Strategy of Great Railroads*; Semple: *American History and its Geographic Conditions*; Cy Warman: *The Story of the Railroads*).

<sup>26</sup> The life of Crockett (born in the wilderness of Eastern Tennessee in 1786, and killed at San Antonio, Texas, in 1836, while defending Fort Alamo against the troops of Santa Anna) gives a good profile view of the advancing westward movement, and an insight into the life and customs of the time.

The Indians were trudging toward the setting sun and fading away into the shadows of the night.<sup>27</sup> Though in the decade from 1840 to 1850 settlements paused at the western boundary of Missouri and Iowa, and the centre of population still lingered in West Virginia, American enterprise jumped across the plains to Texas, the Rockies and the Pacific.

In 1842 John C. Fremont<sup>28</sup> was selected by the President to explore the South Pass as an aid to emigration to Oregon and with Kit Carson<sup>29</sup> for his guide began a series of four expedi-

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<sup>27</sup> In 1820 the Chickasaw claim to the territory of Tennessee and Kentucky between the Tennessee and the Mississippi was extinguished. In 1834 Indian Territory was erected as a district separate from Arkansas. From 1830 to 1840, the titles of the Choctaws and Chickasaws (in Miss.) and of the Cherokees and Creeks (in Georgia and Alabama) were extinguished.

In 1832, the government purchased from the Black Hawk Indians the territory reaching fifty miles west of the Mississippi and lying between the Des Moines river and the line west from the mouth of the Wisconsin. In 1837 the western boundary was further extended by a new purchase from the Sacs and Foxes.

In 1824 Monroe had proposed to colonize the Indians of New York and the northwest territory in Wisconsin territory, where he thought the increasing white population would not disturb them for many years, but the Indian frontier receded so rapidly in front of the white population rolling toward the shores of the Pacific that both Wisconsin and Iowa, twenty years later, were almost ready to knock for admission into the union.

<sup>28</sup> In 1838-40, Fremont had assisted the French astronomer and geographer, J. N. Nicollet, in explorations which resulted in the discovery of the true source of the Mississippi river. On his return to Washington he had met Senator Benton, and also his daughter Jessie, whom he married October 19, 1841.

<sup>29</sup> Christopher Carson (born in Kentucky, 1809, but removed to Missouri in 1810) was a pathfinder long before Fremont. Inheriting his grandfather's love for "out of doors," in 1826 he left home and crossed the plains to Santa Fe. In 1827 he was at Taos and at El Paso. In 1829 he went to Chihuahua then to the copper mines on the Gila and back to Taos. In 1829 he accompanied Ewing Young on a trip westward by the grand canon of the Colorado and across the untrailed interior desert to San Gabriel Mission and the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers in California. He returned the same year by the Colorado and the Gila and reached Santa Fe in April, 1830—at the age of 21 years. In the fall of 1830, he went with a party to the south branch of the Platte and over the Rockies to the Green river, then back across the range to Jackson's Hole, and then west to the Salmon river where he spent the winter. In 1831 he visited the Bear river, the Green, the plains of Laramie, the south fork of the Platte and spent the winter on the Arkansas. In 1832 he moved to the *Laramie*, to the South fork of the Platte, and returned to Taos. In October, 1832, he started again, visited White river, Green river, and spent the winter on the "Windy" river. In 1833 he was again on the Laramie, the headwaters of the Missouri, the Yellowstone, the Big Horn, and other rivers. From 1834 to 1842 he was the hunter for Bent's Ford on the

tions<sup>30</sup> which experienced many hardships, privations, dangers and struggles,<sup>31</sup> but were very useful in their influence on American expansion.

In 1845 Texas, through the influence of its American population, became a state of the Union, and its western wing pointed

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Arkansas. In 1842 he visited his old home on the Missouri, and went to St. Louis, where he met Fremont. He was with Fremont the greater part of 1842-46, on the expedition to Fort Laramie and South Pass; then on the great valuable transcontinental expedition of 4,000 miles via Bent's Fort, the Platte, the Sweetwater, Salt Lake, Fort Hall (Idaho), to Columbia, thence southward on the terrible freezing, starving journey to Thlamath Lake (Oregon), Pyramid Lake (Nev.), and finally to Sutter's Fort (2,000 miles from Fort Hall), and on the return trip via the San Jose valley over the Sierras to the Mogave river and thence to Bent's Fort; and (in 1845) on the expedition via Great Salt Lake and the Carson river to Sutter's Fort (and then to the Thlamath country in Oregon and back to California to participate in the operations of the Mexican war).

On September 15, 1846, he started horseback to Washington, D. C., to bear dispatches, but on October 6 turned back to guide General Kearney to California. In March, 1847, he started again (via the Gila, New Mexico and the Arkansas) and reached Washington in three months after a journey of 4,000 miles. Receiving an appointment as lieutenant of the rifle corps of the United States Army, he returned to Monterey with dispatches. In 1848 he again made the trip to Washington and return. Then for a while he led the life of a rancher, fifty miles west of Taos. In 1850 he took fifty mules to Fort Laramie (500 miles), beginning the "Long Trail" later famous for the cattle trade. In 1851 he tried the Santa Fe trail with goods purchased at St. Louis, but the life was too tame for him. Then he went with a party of old whitehaired men to the heart of the Rockies and on the Arkansas, Green and Grand rivers, on a last farewell trapping and hunting expedition, for he knew the old life was disappearing. In 1853 he drove 6,500 sheep to California, which he found had been transformed since 1848. In 1854 he was appointed Indian agent at Taos for the Utahs and Apaches, and did valuable service. In the Civil War he served the United States in New Mexico and Indian Territory, and especially against the Confederates in Texas. He was colonel of a regiment of N. M. volunteers and later was breveted brigadier-general. He died at Fort Lyon, Colorado, in 1868.

<sup>30</sup> (1) To South Pass and Fremont's Peak, 1842; (2) by the Santa Fe trail to Bent's Fort (near La Junta, Col.), thence northward to St. Vrain's Fort (near Denver), the Bear river, the Great Salt Lake basin, across to the Columbia and the Pacific, then southward to the Sacramento and Sutter's Fort, along the San Joaquin, then westward skirting the Great Basin and exploring Great Salt Lake, to the north and south branches of the Platte, down the Arkansas and to Kansas city, 1843-44; (3) to attempt to find a nearer route across the Great Basin into California, suitable for a railroad to San Francisco, 1845-47; (4) to find a practicable route to the Pacific through the valley of the Rio Grande, 1848-49.

<sup>31</sup> Thwaites: Rocky Mountain Exploration; Hough: The Way to the West.

toward California. The Anglo-Saxon foot was marching toward the Pacific along the routes<sup>32</sup> of the pathfinders and by the stations

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<sup>32</sup> It is very interesting to study the evolution and influence of the great transcontinental trails. In 1804 a trader from Kaskaskia reached Santa Fe by following the south branch of the Platte to the Rockies. In 1806 Lieutenant Z. M. Pike outlined the historic Santa Fe trail along the Arkansas westward, and thence southward. In time the route was much shortened by leaving Arkansas just beyond the present Dodge City and striking southwest across the desert to the Cimarron river. The Santa Fe trade became well organized by 1824. In 1810, St. Louis was the last outfitting point for traders, but by 1831 it was Independence, and later Westport and Kansas City. The Santa Fe trail began at Independence.

To the west from Santa Fe, the trappers became the pioneers. They early opened a route to California via the Gila, and then the Spanish trail via the Virgin river and the Mohave desert. In 1832 J. O. Pattie of Kentucky, who had gone with his father from the Missouri (near Omaha) to Santa Fe, and between 1824 and 1830 has visited the Gila, the Colorado, Lower California, the headwaters of the Big Horn and the Yellowstone (seeking furs and enduring wounds and imprisonment from ferocious savages and Spanish Mexicans in the true spirit of frontiersmen), published a personal narration of adventure which increased the desire to explore and trade.

After the expedition of Lewis and Clark up the Missouri and across to the Columbia, 4,000 miles, in 1804-06, the advance of traders up the western streams increased rapidly, and trading stations at the head of the streams became way stations in the western movement. In 1810 the Astor land party shortened the route to Oregon by leaving the Missouri at the mouth of Grand river and taking a near cut via the Big Horn and the Wind rivers. Some of the party returned to St. Louis by the Sweetwater and Platte rivers, following in the main the route which was later called the Oregon trail (about 2,400 miles long). In 1824 Ashby followed this route westward to the Green river, and to Utah lake, where he founded Fort Ashley (1825). In 1826-29 there were 600 trappers in the region of the Teton mountains and the Green river. By 1829, wheels were taking the place of saddles on the Oregon trail. In 1832, Wyeth with his unpractical equipment of men unlearned in the lessons of the wilderness, traveled over the route. In 1834 Methodist enthusiasts traversed it to found an American colony in Willamette, and in 1835 equally enthusiastic Presbyterians followed it. In 1839 two small parties from Illinois began the movement over it from the middle west. Then, in spite of many obstacles and hardships, the dust continued to thicken on the trail via the South Pass (7,490 ft.) the divide on the east of the Bear river (8,230 ft.), to Fort Hall, then for 300 miles across the desert along the Snake river and via Fort Boise to Walla Walla on the Columbia. The route from Independence to Fort Hall (1,200 miles) was comparatively easy, but the 300 miles of desert, the 250 miles of dangerous navigation, and other difficulties, severely tested the character of the immigrants. It was often necessary to abandon property. Many turned back, and only the fittest survived at the end of the journey of four months.

In 1841, Bidwell and Bartleson left the Oregon trail at Bear river and via the Sonora pass (10,115 ft.) reached the San Joaquin river; and by 1844, the California trail via the Truckee pass (7,017 ft.) to Sutter's Fort and the Sacramento river was discovered. Though at the end of 1845 there were only 680 Americans in California, immigrants were rapidly increasing and began to include women and children.

of the traders and trappers, marking its path with schools, legislative halls, mills, meeting-houses and printing-presses.

In Polk's administration many state legislatures sent resolutions to Congress favoring a railway to the Pacific on the plan proposed by Asa Whitney.<sup>33</sup>

Man was winning in the fight against physical difficulties and was harnessing nature for his use. The substitution of anthracite coal for charcoal revolutionized the iron industry. An era of unprecedented prosperity and industrial expansion resulted from the invention of utilitarian labor-saving devices, the growth of population, the increase in immigration, the extension of railways, the abrogation of the English corn laws, the discovery of gold in California and the occupation of the western lands (especially after the permanent preemption act of 1841). Improved systems of communication, which later effected greatly the thought and the development of the country, were in process of evolution. Steam and the telegraph were bringing people into closer communication. The horse of iron and other bonds of commerce were more and more binding the West to the East. Swamps had been transformed into cities as if by magic. Emigration never stopped, the moving stream of life propelled by an everlasting desire to get bread, and to get married, continued to flow westward and kept the arteries of American society injected with vigor. During the hot days of August, 1847, while Scott was pushing his way toward the Mexican capital, the trains of the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Railway day after day were filled with German emigrants. Population was rolling so restlessly and so swiftly toward the West that some had feared that the unbridled rush into the wilderness would lead to semi-barbarism. After the Mexican War, when we crossed the Sierras and "flung out the banner of the Republic to the gentle breezes of the Peaceful Sea," the discovery of gold<sup>34</sup> in California induced a mighty flood of the

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In 1843, the sturdy, experienced westerners, with their families, went forward to make settlements in Oregon, and soon removed the local stamp of East and the Hudson Bay Company and replaced it with a larger Americanism. By 1845 they had formed settlements of 8,000 people and were overflowing southward along the trapper pack-mule trail to northern California.

<sup>33</sup> Sen. Misc Docs. 30-1, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 18, 28, 29, 58, 76, 77, and 124.

<sup>34</sup> Sparks: *Expansion of the American People*, chap. 28. Ten years later (1858) the discovery of gold in Colorado at the present site of Denver produced another race across the plains for the Pike's Peak country. In the early sixties gold was discovered in Idaho and Montana.



world's adventurers from Mexico, the Sandwich Islands, Australia and Europe as well as from America to make a long journey on the ocean, or an excited rush across the Isthmus or across the plains and through the portals of the Rockies,<sup>35</sup> in order to reach the hitherto silent valley at Sacramento. The new commonwealth of California was soon ready for admission into the Union, and America had become a candle lighted at both ends. The Panama<sup>36</sup> railroad was soon begun and the stern hand of historic necessity pointed to the realization of Goethe's dream of an inter-oceanic canal across the Isthmus.

Pierce took the presidential chair at a period of the world's history teeming with significant events. The power of the American Union convoyed our commerce to the farthest isles of the broadest ocean and was unlocking the gates of the Orient to our friendly intercourse. Beginning with the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840, a series of events combined to stimulate the American ship-building industry and to give American sailing vessels the foremost place as ocean carriers. American foreign commerce was greatly increased by the European revolutions of 1848, the Crimean war of 1853-56, and by the later Sepoy rebellion in India in 1857. The enormous emigration to California and to Australia led to an unprecedented passenger traffic at fabulous prices.

Internal development continued to receive additional stimulus, under the American system and before 1860 was diverting capital from investments in ocean merchant marine and foreign trade.

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<sup>35</sup> The principal route was by the Platte, South Pass, Fort Hall, the Snake river and the Humboldt. (Parkman: The Oregon Trail.)

In 1847 Brigham Young, fleeing from the hostile Gentiles, led the Mormons to Salt Lake, where he hoped to find an isolated asylum. But the gold hunters soon began to pass their doors. By the end of 1848 there were 6,000 men in the California gold fields. During the spring and summer of 1849, about 27,000 men, and 15,000 wagons were ferried across the Missouri at the towns between Independence and Council Bluffs, and for the next year the number was four times as large. In 1849, a traveler counted 459 wagons in ten miles along the Platte (the cholera epidemic caused the death of over 5,000 immigrants along the Missouri). A monthly mail-route was soon opened to the Pacific via Salt Lake, and in 1858 (after the Mormon rebellion) a weekly service was opened to Salt Lake. Another route was opened by the Santa Fe trail to Albuquerque.

<sup>36</sup> The Panama railroad, begun in 1849 in the face of many obstacles and difficulties, was not completed until 1855. The road cost about \$8,000,000, but in the first twelve years of its existence it carried \$750,000,000 worth of gold and 300,000 bags of mail.

The bowed-down of the earth were arising, foreigners were arriving from Europe by hundreds of thousands each year, and many passed toward the vast unoccupied territory to obtain their bread from nature's table. In 1853, the hard times in Germany and the failure of the potato crop in Ireland sent over two large streams of emigrants. Columbus had begged bread for his child at the gate of a convent, but the land which he discovered now provided "employment and food for starving nations and a home for fugitive races" who were to assist in the formation of great commonwealths west of the Mississippi.

About 1850, the railroads began to develop a serious rivalry to water transportation, and at the same time they were completing the economic integration of East and Middle West.<sup>37</sup> The first railway to the Mississippi reached Rock Island in 1854 and others reached it before 1860. By them the old East was being slowly introduced to the vast West whose value had not been realized in an earlier age of local feeling. By 1859, a railway reached St. Joseph on the Missouri two thousand miles from California.

In 1860 mail-bags were speeding over 2,000 miles of hostile country, across plains and alkali deserts, through canons and over mountain passes, from St. Joseph to Sacramento, by the newly established "pony express"<sup>38</sup> whose brief life, crowded with thrilling episodes, was ended in 1862 when the telegraph line was completed across the continent to California. Soon steps were

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<sup>37</sup> There had been a gradual diversion of the western trade toward the east by the lakes and Erie canal route since 1836, but it was not until about 1845 that the south awakened to the situation and endeavored to take some counter-action to prevent the diversion. At the southwestern convention on November 13, 1845, Calhoun wisely, though not consistently, declared that the Mississippi river is an inland ocean and as such is as much entitled to the care of the general government as Lake Erie or the Chesapeake Bay; and he planned a system of railways uniting the Mississippi with Savannah and Charleston, which he invited the government to aid by land grants and remission of duties on railroad iron. (Am. Whig Rev. vol. 5, p. 238, March, 1847.)

<sup>38</sup> The organizers of the "express" bought 600 bronchoes, hired 75 light-weight riders and established relay stations at intervals of 100 miles on the plains and 40 miles in the mountains. The first trip (April, 1860) from St. Joseph was made in 10 days. The quickest trip (December, 1860) was made in eight and a half days. Several riders were killed by Indians, and two were frozen to death. One man, finding no one to relieve him, rode 284 miles in 18 hours. Riders left both St. Joseph and Sacramento every day except Sunday. The charge for letters was \$5 for each ounce. (Col. Henry Inman: "The Great Salt Lake Trail;" Mark Twain: "Roughing it"; Cy Warman: "Story of the Railroad.")

taken to establish lines of steamers across the Pacific, and telegraphic communication with the Far East.<sup>39</sup>

The war for the preservation of the Union marks a turning point in American development. It was the beginning of a period of economic and political integration—of better industrial and social organization. Agriculture was greatly improved and stimulated by a series of events: the unprecedented introduction of the reaper and other labor saving machinery and the extension of the railroad system in the grain region of the Northwest; the introduction of the "new process" roller flour mills; the Homestead Act; the transition to careful intensive cultivation in the East; the improvement in methods of transporting and handling the grain; the increased foreign demand which made the United States the chief producer and exporter of breadstuffs and grains; and finally, after a period of adjustment of serious problems resulting from the war, the gradual substitution of the improved small farm system and diversified industries at the South in place of the old wasteful plantation system which had been destroyed. This improvement continued till agriculture has become a business instead of a mere occupation for subsistence. The war, by practically cutting off foreign intercourse, also hastened greatly the growth of domestic manufactures which have had such a remarkable development since 1880.

At the close of the war of secession the re-united nation stood upon its feet with a confidence and character strengthened by recent experience, ready to meet the problems of the future. It had felt its way hesitatingly along untried paths, while communication had been growing swifter and more intimate, and the necessity for union had grown stronger. The experience of centuries had been crowded into a few generations. A strong nation with wide bounds had been built and had suffered only four years of civil dissension. The people had increased fifteen-fold in the century, and still the throngs of emigrants were coming to the land of fruitful soil, genial climes, and liberal institutions, where they could own their homes and enjoy free labor, prosperity and an atmosphere of toleration. Though there was a decline in the American merchant marine, the railroads and other means of internal communication developed upon an unprecedented scale after

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<sup>39</sup> By February, 1861, a congressional committee reported in favor of surveys for a proposed telegraph from Oregon via Bering Sea to the mouth of the Amoor river which, in 1860, had been opened to free trade from its source to the sea.

the war to keep pace with the industrial growth and internal commerce. In the far West where the engineer had become the pioneer, by 1869 a railway to the Pacific<sup>40</sup> had taken the place of the pony express, and the disenchanting pant and screech of the locomotive broke the spell of the weird mysterious mountains, and once a day, announced the arrival of settlers to fill up the space left vacant in the earlier rush for California, to hasten the extermination of the buffalo and prepare the way for the era of cattle and the cowboy from Texas to Montana.<sup>41</sup> Later, the brief era of the cowboy gave way to the era of the farmer and barbed wire fences, and the fertile prairies of the West became the food producing region for the older states.

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<sup>40</sup> The road was built by the aid of subsidies from the national government. These were granted in 1862 and later for the primary purpose of strengthening the Union which was then in the midst of a momentous struggle against secession. It was urged that the road would bind the far west to the Union, and enable the United States more promptly to repel attacks on Pacific coasts, to control Indian outbreaks and to end the Mormon question. Surveys had been commenced as early as 1853. On January 8, 1863, Leland Stanford (b. 1824, d. 1893) turned the first earth for the Central Pacific at Sacramento. On December 2, 1863, ground was broken for the Union Pacific at Omaha, with a florid speech by George Francis Train. The race started slowly with many difficulties and dangers, but the large subsidies offered by the law of 1866 induced each company to strain every nerve in order to reach Salt Lake before its rival. The completion of the Chicago and Northwestern to Council Bluffs, on November 7, 1867, greatly aided the Union Pacific in securing materials and enabled it to push beyond Salt Lake to Promontory Point, Utah, before its track-layers met those of the Central Pacific in the spring of 1869. The spirit of the race was intense near the close, and aroused the Mormons to participate. On May 10, the final scene of this great American epic was enacted when the first engine from the Pacific met the first one from the Atlantic and Leland Stanford of California drove the last spike in the presence of an assembled crowd representing all classes who had participated in the undertaking—regular soldiers who had acted as military guard to the builders, the coolies and the Irish tracklayers; the border ruffians, gamblers, and venders of "bad medicine;" the Mormons; and the gentlemen in frock coats. Bret Harte furnished the poem for the occasion ("What the Engines said"). The whole country, at a signal from the telegraph offices, became wild in the excitement of rejoicing, while the bells rang in Independence Hall. (Spearman: *The Strategy of great Railroads*; Cy Warman: *"The Story of the Railroad"*; Sparks: *The Expansion of the American People*, chap. 30; John P. Davis: *"The Union Pacific Railroad"*; Robert L. Stevenson: *"Across the Plains"*).

<sup>41</sup> The routes over which the cattle were driven from Texas northward developed into the "Long Trail," over 2,000 miles in length, through Indian territory, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, with branches to Utah and Nevada, and to Iowa and Illinois.

The completion of the first transcontinental railway—a national enterprise in comparison with which the Cumberland road was insignificant—inaugurated a new epoch in the development of the West, and in the history of the Nation. With the aid of national land grants, and at great cost and sacrifice, new transcontinental railways were pushed westward from the Mississippi in advance of the population. These roads were important factors in later American development. They enabled home-seekers to reach the new lands at far less cost and inconvenience than in the days of the prairie schooner. They contributed greatly to the industrial and political integration of the nation, to the realization of American destiny and influence in the Pacific and in the Orient, and also to the nationalization of problems which had hitherto been local in scope and importance but which have since needed the more efficient application of public regulation. The same national spirit which induced the government to aid transportation, by grants of federal subsidies to the Pacific railways, also caused it to increase the appropriations for rivers and harbors, to grant subsidies to a trans-pacific steamship line, to consider means for reviving the trans-atlantic merchant marine, and to undertake the construction of the great trans-isthmian inter-oceanic waterway which solves a transportation problem of the centuries and will doubtless prove a very potent factor in determining the future history and destiny of America.

## II. Dreams of Continental Occupation.

The Romulus of the United States surrounded it with no furrow, and continental occupation has been an undying dream with many since the nation was born.<sup>42</sup> In 1787, Gouverneur Morris thought that all North America would finally be annexed.<sup>43</sup> About the same time, Jefferson, who had already foreseen the possible independence of all America, feared that Spain's American possessions would fall away from her before we were ready for them. For reasons both political and philosophical he made inquiries regarding the possibilities of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, which had so long served as the bulwark of China and Japan.<sup>44</sup> On November 24, 1801, in writing to Monroe

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<sup>42</sup> The Indians, with the idea that the American people had a voracity for land, after St. Clair's defeat stuffed the mouths of the dead full of earth.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson's Works, vol. 1, p. 518.

<sup>44</sup> Jefferson to Carmichael, December 15, 1787 Ford's Jefferson, vol. 4, p. 473; vol. 5, p. 22.

on the subject of establishing a penal negro colony in America, Jefferson said: "However our present interests may restrain us within our limits it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication shall expand itself beyond those limits and cover the whole northern, if not the southern, continent."<sup>45</sup> About the same time, and several years later, Dr. William Thornton, who doubtless exerted considerable influence on both Madison and Monroe, advocated the idea of extending the republican system over all North and South America and the adjacent islands, under thirteen distinct sections but united by one central government on the Isthmus. On the healthy hills near Panama was to be erected the great city called America, connected with both the Atlantic and the Pacific by a great canal, and a center from which all longitudes were to be calculated.<sup>46</sup>

Sumter, who was sent to Brazil in 1809 when the court of Portugal was removed to America (and when events seemed to indicate that the European system in America was approaching its end), in November, 1812, after the opening of the war with England, began to suggest that the United States should seize opportunity by the forelock and extend her policy so as to embrace all the strength and influence of America—increasing her importance on this continent by political and commercial association, and endeavoring to prevent the inhabitants from exhausting themselves in long conflicts which would only leave them in a situation to submit to Europe.<sup>47</sup> In 1816 T. L. Halsey, writing Monroe that Buenos Ayres, in order to get aid, would probably be willing to place itself under the direction of the United States, said: "It would appear to be the policy of the United States that the whole continent of America should be united, at least in commercial relations."<sup>48</sup>

In March, 1818, Monroe received from Joseph Codina a plan for separating Spanish America from Spain and making it free under the protection of the United States. This plan proposed a coalition for defense and urged that the American government for safety and convenience should take the territory as far south as

<sup>45</sup> Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 420; Ford, vol. 8, p. 104.

<sup>46</sup> William Thornton: Outlines of constitution for North and South Columbia. Washington, 1815.

<sup>47</sup> 1 T. Sumter (Rio Janiero) to Monroe, cipher No. 1

<sup>48</sup> 1 Consular Letters (Buenos Ayres).

the Isthmus of Panama "the point which in the judgment of every sensible man is destined by God and Nature to be the limits of the United States." "If the United States lose the present opportunity to take possession of the Isthmus," said he, "the people of America will one day lament in tears and blood the fatal omission."<sup>49</sup>

At this time one finds frequent suggestions of the idea of establishing an understanding or co-operation between the parts of the Americas upon a variety of subjects of general concern.

In 1818, Henry M. Brackenridge, who had been secretary of the South American commission, in a paper addressed to Monroe said: "The United States will be the natural head of the New World." Though he was not an advocate of the "Great American Congress on the Isthmus" he agreed that under certain contingencies (if England should send a fleet to put us down) we should "drive Spain from the continent, and form a chain of confederacies with the Patriots."<sup>50</sup>

In 1819 John Quincy Adams, stating that the world was to be familiarized with the idea that the dominion of the United States was to be the continent of North America, said: "From the time when we became an independent people, it was as much a law of nature that this should become our pretention as that the Mississippi should flow to the sea." Later he spoke of Cuba and Porto Rico as natural appendages of the North American Continent, and as naturally gravitating toward us without our aid. Barbe Marbois, the French diplomat who negotiated with Monroe and Livingston for the sale of Louisiana, writing in 1828 of the phenomenal growth of the United States under republican institutions, and of the germs of future states on the Columbia, stated that, though Congress had not announced its purpose to extend the Union to the Pacific, there could be no doubt that by a general impulse the American system was about to embrace the whole of the New World. The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* of October, 1847, contains the following: "This occupation of territory by the people is the great movement of the age, and, until every acre of the American continent is occupied by citizens of the United States, the foundation of the future empire will not have been laid."<sup>51</sup> John Bright, in a speech at Birmingham, December, 1862, said: "I see one vast confederation stretch-

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<sup>49</sup> Monroe papers, vol. xvii, p. 2137.

<sup>50</sup> Pamphleteer, vol. 13, 1818. London.

<sup>51</sup> Also see *U. S. Review*, February, 1853, pp. 1 and 173 *et seq.*; and also March, 1853, pp. 193-206, "The Monroe Doctrine vs. the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty."

ing from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main—a refuge for the oppressed of every race and clime.” Again, in June, 1863, in Parliament, he spoke of all America under one government. Viscount Milton, M. P., in a book published at London, in 1869, on the San Juan boundary question, said that the rapid expansion of the people of the United States and the accession of new states was consistent with the Monroe doctrine, and that the conception that American institutions were to overspread the continent had been recently illustrated by the purchase of Alaska and by overtures for the purchase of Hudson Bay territory. Henry Gannett, in a recent volume on “The Building of a Nation,” wrote: “Our preponderance over the other nations of the North American continent will, ere long, draw them into our body-politic; our descendants will be citizens of a republic whose dominions will extend from Greenland to Panama . . . migration to Canada, Mexico and the Central American States which have never prospered under their present forms of government will receive a great stimulus when these countries become integral parts of the Republic.”

### III. A Brief Sketch of the American Policy of Territorial Extension.

Expansion of national territory, which in our earlier history was a steady policy, has, with few exceptions, arisen from the necessity of meeting internal difficulties and political and economic questions, and probably was inevitable. Although the opposition to slavery was an obstacle to expansion, the Southern desire to extend this institution was an important factor in all the acquisitions and the demands for expansion from 1820 to 1860. Jealousy or fear in regard to the plans of England also exerted no inconsiderable influence in determining the policy of the United States to incorporate Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, Oregon and Alaska. The acquisition of Cuba, Yucatan, and Hawaii were urged long ago upon the same ground. Although some acquisitions have been made by war the greater part have been obtained under the desire to prevent war. The American policy, with few exceptions, has been to negotiate directly with the governments exercising authority over the territory desired. Territory after territory has been incorporated into a great Union notwithstanding both domestic and foreign opposition, and the national flag has been carried onward to the Rio Grande and the Pacific. Notwithstanding the pessimistic prophecies in which the opposition



indulged at each expansion of our domains, the republic still lives, and all now agree that the extension of our national limits to the gulf and the remote Pacific added strength to the Union.

Even in the dark days of the Revolution there was a buoyant American spirit urging that the Union should include Canada, and even Florida; and American expansion began with Clark's invasion of the Northwest in 1778. In the peace of 1783, American diplomats were successful in securing the extension of our boundary to the Mississippi and in obtaining much territory that was then unknown.

The constitution did not expressly provide for annexation of territory, but it appears that such annexation was foreseen. In 1791, Jefferson, acting as secretary of state under Washington, was contemplating the acquisition of additional territory from Spain. Washington, however, while the West was pressing for the navigation of the Mississippi river, and restless spirits threatened to join the expeditions of Genet, Clarke, and Blount, against Louisiana and Florida, feared that access to the ocean by way of the Gulf would, by lessening the connection with the East, lead to the establishment of separate nations by the states between the Mississippi and the mountains. Hamilton and others had designs against Spanish America which might have led to the extension of the United States toward the southwest, but they were opposed by President Adams.

The West, stating that "the Mississippi is ours by the law of nature" was ready to enforce the claim even at the risk of breaking from allegiance to the national government which did not yet know its own strength, and Jefferson, the great American expansionist, who had long before favored exploration to the Pacific, and, at the beginning of Washington's administration, had made an effort to acquire Florida and New Orleans, driven by necessity and accident, before he knew exactly what he was doing, in 1803, began our policy of peaceful expansion by the purchase of a vast empire, setting our bounds to the Rockies, bringing doubtful titles to Florida, Texas and Oregon, and making further expansion necessary and a great united nation possible. His example was followed long after his authority ceased. Madison, from apparent necessity, took temporary control of the Gulf shores from the Mississippi to the Mobile, and, in the War of 1812, planned expeditions for the conquest of Canada. Monroe, for the same reason, seized Amelia island and Galveston, finally extended our domains to the Florida straits, and said that the acquisition of Cuba might become necessary to our internal tranquility as well as to our prosperity and aggrandizement.

By the time the United States had received all the Floridas she was preparing to make settlements on the far-away Columbia. She was invited to aid South America, Cuba and Greece<sup>52</sup> and had opportunities to obtain new acquisitions. She refused to encourage the wishes of the Guatemalans<sup>53</sup> and Cubans for annexation to the American Union, and did not desire the acquisition of the Ionian or other islands in the Mediterranean.<sup>54</sup> Though Jefferson was opposed to any annexation that would require the construction of a navy to defend it, he was willing to move the national boundary stones to southern shores of "ever faithful" Cuba. John Quincy Adams, who 1820 suggested the occupation of territory in

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<sup>52</sup> Webster and Clay, stating that the United States must take an active part in all that is done in the world, said that we might even recognize the Philippine Islands if they should set up an independent government.

<sup>53</sup> In December, 1822, the congress of San Salvador (one of the states of Guatemala) to avoid being joined to Mexico under the rule of Yturbides, proposed annexation to the United States as a state. Don Manuel Arce and Don Juan M. Rodriguez were appointed commissioners with full powers. They reached Washington in September, 1823, and delivered their communications to Mr. Daniel Brent of the Department of State. Secretary J. Q. Adams was in Boston and did not return until a month later. In the meantime a revolution in Mexico had overthrown Yturbides, and his republican successors had acknowledged the right of the people of Guatemala to institute a government for themselves. Thus there was no longer any urgent reason for seeking union with the United States. Alfred Williams in his book, "The Interoceanic Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," says the acceptance of the proffered annexation of Central America "would have given the U. S. a door of the seas and forever solved the problem of the control of the interoceanic canal." Secretary Adams was especially interested in Central America. In 1824 he appointed Thomas N. Mann as a secret informal agent to visit Guatemala in order to get confidential information in regard to the territory, the population and the probability of its separation as a separate republic. (2 Desps. Consuls, April 11, 1824). His interest continued after he became President. In the early part of 1826 Henry Clay, instructing John Williams to exchange ratifications of a treaty with the Federation of the Center and referring to the circumstances which gave Guatemala a special claim to the interest and regard of the United States, said: "Whatever obstacles there might have been in physical relations or in the constitutional arrangements of our government to the proposed union (with the United States) the proposal itself and the spirit in which it was made were eminently adapted to inspire the warmest sentiments of regard and attachment." (11 Instr. Guatemala, Feb. 10, 1826.)

<sup>54</sup> The United States had been offered islands or footholds in the Mediterranean where the question of a naval station had already engaged the attention of the administration of Jefferson. (30 Desps. England, No. 392, July 24, 1824; 6 Desps. Rus. Aug. 29, 1816.)

the South Seas<sup>55</sup> and foresaw American destiny in the West Indies, later announced that he was inclined to seek no acquisition not contiguous to the continent. He and Jackson both made efforts to purchase Texas which had been given up in 1819, and Jackson wished to acquire territory that would include the bay of San Francisco on the Pacific, but they exhibited no desire to secure insular possessions. In 1831, a writer in the *North American Review* said that "Popular opinion would be as strongly established against the suggestion of either a voluntary or a forcible cession beyond our territorial limits, as it would be if the executive were to recommend a league with the Pope for the conquest of the Holy Land."

But the natural course of events was already preparing for extension along the Gulf toward the Rio Grande and, in 1837-8, there were citizens along the northern frontier who were anxious to aid the patriots to secure Canadian independence as a step toward annexation. Texas had ceased to be an independent barrier; and the fact that it had largely been settled by American frontiersmen led to quarrels which resulted in an independent state and finally enabled Polk (who also favored the annexation of Alaska) to move the boundary-stones to the fickle Rio Grande, carry civilization to the Golden Gate and the Pacific, and lay the foundations for making the United States a great railway nation. Calhoun said future acts in the drama had become uncertain. When Walker, in Polk's Cabinet, in 1847, urged the retention of all Mexico, Calhoun, fearing it would be free territory, strongly opposed and induced the administration to refrain from making exorbitant demands; but enough was secured to enable the United States to become an arbiter in the affairs of the Pacific.<sup>56</sup>

Then began a twelve-year period of pro-slavery land-hunger, in which there were schemes for getting control of more of Spain's former domains in the direction of Central America and Mexico. Many prominent men advocated the acquisition of isthmian and insular possessions, urging that the United States should hold the gate to the Pacific and the keys which controlled it. Buchanan

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<sup>55</sup> In 1820 Adams was fascinated with the idea of starting a new controversy with England, and recommended to Monroe a project for occupying and colonizing an island (or iceberg) in the South Sea in latitude 61° 40' (28 Monroe Papers, August 26, 1820).

<sup>56</sup> The effect of the acquisition of California on relations with other nations on the Pacific was discussed at the time by several American diplomats in their dispatches to the department of state (e. g. 8 Desps. Peru, John Randolph Clay, No. 27, June 12, 1849).

and others opposed the Clayton-Bulwer treaty because it restricted the right of occupying territory which might become necessary for the security of communications with our Pacific possessions. Cuba, especially, standing warden to the Gulf of Mexico, having of slavery which the south wished to see continued, and a system of commercial restrictions and arbitrary government which many others desired to see ended, became an object of anxious solicitude to a large party in the United States. Polk's "profoundly confidential" negotiations for the purchase of Cuba failed, and Fillmore considered that its incorporation would be perilous, but the plans for its acquisition continued to be urged. Young America, intoxicated with the progress of a hundred years, and suffering from flights of oratory, joined hands with the slavery extensionists to preach from the text of "manifest destiny." Every addition to the territory of the American Union had given homes to European destitution and extended representative government, and it was now boldly proclaimed by some that the American nation was not to be circumscribed by narrow isthmuses and gulf streams. The feature which characterized the foreign policy of Pierce, and especially that of Buchanan, was the aim to achieve the long-desired result of securing control in the Gulf of Mexico and the Americanization of the region thereabouts.<sup>57</sup>

The Pierce administration contemplated the annexation of Hawaii and Alaska, opened negotiations for the purchase of Cuba, and, while Walker<sup>58</sup> was filibustering in lower California, sent

<sup>57</sup> Douglas in the Senate said that in spite of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the United States might some time find it necessary to extend American laws to Central America, which was only "half way" on the road to California. (31 Cong. Globe, 32-2 and 3, March 10, 1853).

<sup>58</sup> Walker, after his attempt on Sonora and Lower California, sailed to Nicaragua, where he soon obtained a controlling influence as "mayor of the palace." He was followed by other Americans who, "filled with military spirit," sought adventure. In January, 1855, Marcoletes, in a note to Secretary Marcy, protested against the "schemes \* \* \* devised against Central America by these modern Phenecians who assume military titles \* \* \* and grasp the sword and the musket instead of the ploughshare, the axe, and the shepherd's crook, thinking to make conquest of the golden fleece which they believed to be hung and secreted amidst the briars, forests, thickets and swamps \* \* \* under the by no means attractive and seductive influence of a pestiferous and fever-giving atmosphere." (2 Notes from C. A. Jan. 16, 1855). In 1856 Senator Bell of Tennessee said the Monroe doctrine had become a doctrine of progressive absorption, annexation and conquest of Spanish America. (41 Cong. Globe, 34-1, Feb. 26, 1856).

Gadsden to secure a large slice across Mexico from the Gulf to the ocean, but secured only the Mexican territory along the Gila river. Seward, though he refused to commit himself blindly to the guidance of those who offered to interpret our manifest destiny, in reviewing the thickly recurring changes, the resistless impulses and broad opportunities of a half century, said it was hard to conceive how we much longer could have avoided the expansion which had not only brought the Antilles under our surveillance, but also had brought us to confront the islands and coasts of Asia.<sup>59</sup> The need of coaling stations in the Pacific,<sup>60</sup> and of an inter-oceanic canal had been urged, especially since the rapid growth of California. Commodore Perry and the American minister to China recommended the establishment of colonies in the Pacific at the gates of China and Japan.

When Buchanan stepped into the shoes of Pierce he announced expansion to be the future policy of the country. He continued to press the necessity of purchasing Cuba, suggested intervention in helpless, bleeding Mexico, where he hoped to secure additional territory; recommended the occupation of Sonora and Chihuahua; proposed to send land and naval forces to Central America in order to protect the transit route;<sup>61</sup> threatened the Fiji Islands, and was favorably disposed to the annexation of Alaska. A member of Congress said that "we should advance our eagles until the tread of our columns could be heard upon the whole continent." Our vessel of state rode upon a swollen and enraged tide, and Reuben Davis of Mississippi, announcing in the House that no anchor could stay it, said: "If we will leave all subjects in which the people are directly interested to the states, then we may expand so as to include . . . Mexico, Central America, South America, Cuba, the West India Islands . . . . And this, Sir, is the mission of the Republic and its ultimate destiny."

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<sup>59</sup> Congressional Globe, June 29, 1854: Speech of Seward on the "Mail Line to China."

<sup>60</sup> The acquisition of the Gallipagos islands from Ecuador had been suggested in the closing weeks of Fillmore's administration. (2 Desp. Ecuador Cushing No. 31, March 1, 1853).

<sup>61</sup> In 1856, after a riot at Panama, the Pierce administration, in order to protect the transportation of persons and property on the isthmus, attempted to obtain (by treaty) from New Granada a belt of land twenty miles wide from ocean to ocean and certain islands in the harbors at each terminal for naval stations. The special mission was unsuccessful because the treaty was not acceptable to New Grenada. (Sen. Exec. Doc. 112, 46-2, vol. 4, pp. 8 and 21).

In 1861 the storm of civil war burst forth in its fury, and, by the abolition of slavery, ended the agitation for the extension of dominion over tropical peoples disturbed by dissension and strife. In December, 1861, Lincoln, using Jefferson's plea of expediency, suggested that steps be taken to acquire tropical territory for the colonization of free negroes. Seward found little chance for a policy of acquisition while he was opposing secession and hoping to sustain the Monroe doctrine in San Domingo and Mexico—though in order to prevent Lower California from falling into the hands of the Confederates, he would have been willing to buy or take it as a pledge for a loan to Mexico. While warning Spain against beginning intervention in Spanish America, and assuring her that her rights in Cuba and Porto Rico were respected by the United States, he significantly added that Cuba must not be used as a base against the American Union. Later in the war (1864), when Spain feared American designs on Samana, Seward said the United States already had enough territory at that time.

It was predicted that the United States, at the close of the war, would embark upon a policy of conquest, and both Mexico and Canada feared American designs; but when Maximilian slept, and the Fenians blustered, the American Government showed no disposition to interfere with the operation of natural forces. In 1866, the House of Representatives considered a bill for the eventual annexation of the territory north of our borders. The British North American act followed and made the American House of Representatives uneasy. Seward said that "British Columbia, by whomsoever possessed, must be governed in conformity with the interests of her people and of society upon the American continent," and some believed that he purchased incontinentous and distant Alaska as a step toward securing Canada and other territory.

At the time of the Alaska cession there were many who favored further expansion. By order of the United States navy department, Captain William Reynolds in August, 1867, formally took possession of Midway Islands. Banks and others said that the Pacific was the ocean of the future and that we must acquire Hawaii also. Ignatius Donnelly desired to carry American institutions into the frozen constellations and to the heat of the tropics, letting our "foundations abut only on the everlasting seas." Spalding of Ohio declared that no territory was foreign if the United States wanted it, and Shellabarger fearing that we would make our diameter so large that we could love only half at a time, said we should not try to stretch our arms like seas

to embrace the Universe. President Johnson thought that the time would soon come for the United States to aid in solving the political problems of the West Indies and Hawaii, and Grant, seeking a solution to the race problem, proposed to purchase San Domingo; but the public mind was so much engaged with domestic questions that it was not considered a fitting time to "entertain the . . . more remote questions of national extension and aggrandizement." A treaty had been made with Denmark for the purchase of her possessions in the West Indies, but it slept in Sumner's desk and was never presented to the Senate for ratification. During the ten years of struggle between Spain and the Cuban revolutionists, many Americans, desiring to terminate long-endured inconveniences, and advocating the abolition of slavery in Cuba, sympathized with the insurgents, and the American Government in order to secure peace was apparently ready to guarantee a payment by the Cubans to Spain for their independence, but under the existing conditions Secretary Fish several times stated that the United States did not desire the island.

Events in Hawaii threatened to precipitate the consideration of the expediency of its annexation, but Fish, in 1873, while reflecting upon the possible necessity of future expansion into mid-ocean said the acquisition of territory beyond the sea met the opposition of discreet and influential leaders, and could not be adopted without grave deliberation. In 1872 and for several years thereafter the question of assuming control of the Samoan Islands as a protectorate was presented to the American Government, but Fish in December, 1874, doubted whether their position and importance "would be sufficient to satisfy the people that the annexation of the islands to the United States is essential to our safety and prosperity," and did not see the expediency of originating a measure "adverse to the usual tradition of the government." Steinberger, who in 1875 gave the impression that he was establishing a Samoan Government under the protection of the United States, did so without any authority from Washington. The United States Government did not sustain the acts of the consuls who raised the American flag at Apia in 1877, 1878 and 1885. Evarts in 1877 refused to accept a protectorate over islands so far distant. Blaine in 1881, and Frelinghuysen in 1883 said that the American policy tended to avoid possessions disconnected with this continent, but they felt that the destiny of Hawaii like that of Cuba was an American question.

Absorption of Pacific islands by European powers and the decline of native races induced both Blaine and Bayard to see the necessity of maintaining the rights to which the United States

had become entitled in the few unappropriated islands which were under independent and autonomous native governments. Bayard in 1885 informed Germany that our recorded disinclinations to avail ourselves of the voluntary offers of other powers to place themselves under our sovereignty and protection showed that we had no idea of acquiring control of the Carolines, but in 1886 he said "if colonial acquisitions were an announced policy of the United States" we would have an equal right with Germany or Great Britain to assert a claim of possession to Pacific islands. According to a statement of Senator Morgan, Cleveland favored the annexation of both Cuba and Hawaii in his first administration, but in his message of December, 1885, desiring to avoid entangling alliances he said: "I do not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory, or the incorporation of remote interests with our own."

The conditions in Hawaii which caused a growing inclination there in favor of annexation, was preparing the way for further American expansion. The inevitable incorporation of Hawaii was only delayed by the refusal of Cleveland to accept the results of the revolution of 1893. While there has been no general desire to enter upon an aggressive policy of territorial aggrandizement, leaders of both parties have shown a growing opinion in favor of possessing distant islands for the protection and encouragement of American interests in the Pacific and the Far East—as well as at home. This tendency was increased as an inevitable consequence of the dismemberment of Spanish dominions. At the close of the six weeks war, the recent annexation of Hawaii had already decreased the value of the objection to the acquisition of non-contiguous territory. President McKinley, seeing that Spain had no money with which to pay the expense of intervention in Cuba, and at the same time desiring to avoid occasions for future collision with Spain in the West Indies, and to provide for naval stations and commercial interests in the Pacific, decided that the United States should retain Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and secure other islands for naval and cable stations. In making his ultimatum to Spain he was commended by members and newspapers of both parties, though he has since been opposed by a respectable minority.

Recent events present many new problems for solution—in the West Indies, on the Isthmus, and in the Pacific. In 1887 Froude said that it was the opinion in Cuba that "America is the residuary legatee" of all the West Indies, and that she will finally be forced to take charge of them even if she should desire otherwise.



There has been considerable discussion in Jamaica, and in a conference at Barbadoes, in favor of annexation to the United States in case the British Government does not take action to assist the sugar interests in those islands. The United States has not countenanced this movement, but has been negotiating for the purchase of the Danish Islands, and has recently obtained control of the Panama canal zone.

#### IV. The Outlook.

Whether our new acquisitions will prove a source of weakness or of strength is a question to be proven by the future. Distant colonies have often been a source of weakness both in peace and in war, but they have often proven beneficial to both the governing and the governed. The United States while long resisting the opportunities and suggestions to establish colonies in the Pacific, has been forced by the application of steam to navigation, and by increasing commercial interests, to consider the question of distant bases of supply and harbors for protection.

The annexation of Hawaii is not out of line with the evolution of the American expansion policy. It was contemplated long before the Civil War when it was not near so easy of access as now. It is now nearer to Washington than were Florida and Louisiana in Jefferson's time, or Oregon and California in the administration of Polk. Its distance in miles from Oregon and California is less than that of some of our Aleutian islands which fringe the Behring Sea and look like stepping-stones toward another continent.

By the acquisition of the Philippines, which came to us without our planning, we have taken a larger step than heretofore. We now stand in the tropics at the southwest portal of Asia. Some, on the ground that past traditions of expansion have ceased to operate, that increased expenses and higher taxation are inevitable, that the large native populations of the tropical islands cannot be governed by our democratic system—that the islanders cannot look forward to statehood in the Union—that new race problems will arise, and that some system of forced or indentured labor will be necessary to develop large industries, are predicting the beginning of the end of the republic. Others, though admitting that the dangers are larger than they were in previous acquisitions in which the stronger race has dominated and the foreign element become Americanized, feel that with England as an object lesson in the assimilation of mixed races we having learned

to conquer self, can successfully deal with the Malays of "Dewey Peninsula" and need not despair of the republic. They assert that the Ship of State still has her anchors, and that America, abundantly able to meet new conditions in world movements, will, in the next century, become the leading world-power in trade and industrial expansion. Writers are telling us that the trade of the tropics will be the largest factor in the era upon which we are entering; that the trend of modern history seems to be toward colonization and protectorates for less civilized peoples; and that it will be futile for any first class power to fold its hands and stand aloof from regions which, although they perhaps cannot be colonized by whites, must be governed by a base in the temperate zones—by the United States and other nations whose duty it is to undertake the work in the interest of all as a trust for civilization.<sup>62</sup> Those favoring expansion laugh at "trembling ones shrieking at the self-conjured ghost of imperialism, as if empire could grow on freedom's soil," and urge that civilization shall reach out in helpfulness to lift the less enlightened to liberty's plane, to search for fresh resources, to transform seas into paths for ships, and yoke nature to serve man.

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<sup>62</sup> W. Alleyne Ireland, in *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1898, has given an interesting article on European experience with tropical colonies; also, see an article by Benjamin Kidd, on the control of the tropics, in the same issue of the same magazine. Also, Ireland's "The Far-Eastern Tropics."

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